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Most of these capital goods enter the village by gift or gift exchange. Some types (e.g. kitchenware and clothes) may pass from one village to another by way of brideprice, but other types of gifts (e.g. radios) are hardly ever made in a ceremonial context, but only to close kinsmen. I am not at all sure whether, in Salisbury's terminology, the latter type should be classified as a luxury or a ceremonial item.

One conclusion emerging from the various studies made in the 1960s is that total village income has risen rapidly among the Orokaiva. The sources vary. It may be due to outside employment of persons still ordinarily resident in the village, to increased cash cropping, to sale of food surpluses or to increased remittances from local men employed away from the village.

4. *History*

The main object of this section is to provide some background for the study of Orokaiva exchange, especially between tribes and between Orokaiva and Europeans.

In physical constitution, Williams considered the Orokaiva to be 'midway between the typical Papuan and the typical Melanesian'. Dupeyrat, who has recently (1965) surveyed the evidence, considers the Orokaiva 'basically of the Papuan Mountain type', but mixed with Polyno-melanesian elements, late-comers in Papua, who spread to the Northern District via Maisina and Manigela. It is certainly true that one notices more Polyno-melanesian features along the coast (e.g. among the Yega) than inland.

In the period just prior to European occupation, the most notable aspect of Orokaiva history that can be reconstructed is pressure from the dense population on the Mount Lamington foothills upon the sparser populations surrounding the mountain on all sides, but especially to the north and east. These sparser populations (to whom Williams gives the common name Sauaha) pressed upon the still sparser populations dwelling in the still less fertile country on their own northern and eastern borders (see Chinnery and Beaver 1916; Williams 1930: 152–4; Monckton 1921: Ch. XXIV; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963: 14–16).

In 1888, in response to Australian pressure, the British government annexed Papua. The first administrator, Sir William McGregor, made many arduous exploratory expeditions while establishing his rule in this vast unknown territory. On one of these expeditions he ascended the Mambare river to its highest navigable point, a few miles above Tamata creek, where he discovered the existence of gold in the sand and shores of the river (Monckton 1921: 78; Murray 1912: 326–8). This was the first discovery of gold in Papua with important commercial prospects, and led to a major movement of prospectors and miners to the Northern District. Relationships with the Papuans were bad from the beginning, and there were numerous killings by both sides. In 1900 150 miners were working on the Yodda river; the Yodda and Gira goldfields together produced 15,000 oz. of gold (Murray 1912: 333). In order to stop the bloodshed, resident magistrates were stationed at Ioma, along the Mambare and at two places on the Kumusi river, which was for some years the access route to the Yodda field.

The early relationships between Orokaiva and Australians may be gleaned

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175 177 726 from the three books of memoirs written by Monckton, who was resident magistrate in the district until his immoderate punitive expeditions led to his being eased out of the service in 1907. His most memorable achievement was the building of a road from Buna through Orokaiva country to Kokoda, near the goldfields. This road, slightly modernised, is still the main line of communication in the Northern District today. By the time it was built (1904), the sanguinary battles between Monckton and the Dobodura and others had taken place, so government patrols were treated with much circumspection. Nonetheless the tribes around Mount Lamington were still 'fighting like Kilkenny cats' (Monckton 1922: 142). Monckton's comments on the road are interesting.

> Yodda Road is tabu to the tribes and is traversed in perfect safety by single white men and their unarmed carriers. Never since I broke the Dobudura and Sangara has there ever been a theft upon it. It is a sanctuary for any and everyone; the wildest tribes only visit it in peace to trade food and goods to passing travellers. They rather like it, as small parties of hostile tribes can move freely about on it in safety with their women and children. (1934:41)

While the road was being built 'no hostilities took place between my working parties and the local inhabitants' (*ibid.* 63). It was thus described not only by Monckton, but also by Lieutenant-Governor Murray who wrote:

> The Wasida and Sangara have been particularly active in forming markets along the road which leads from Buna Bay to the Yodda Goldfield, and in supplying carriers with taro and other food in exchange for articles of trade, such as tobacco and glass bottles, which are much prized for the manufacture of razors. (1912:105)

175 ● 648 The Protectorate of British New Guinea became Australian territory by the passing of the Papua Act 1905 by the Commonwealth Government of Australia. The new administration adopted a policy of peaceful penetration and the Monckton type of massacres were not repeated. Nonetheless, these early excesses are now forever part of Orokavia history. In the period that followed Papua presented 'in many ways an example of enlightened rule' (Mair 1948: Ch. III). Many measures of social and economic native development were introduced, though these invariably took the form of 'native regulations', for the breach of which a penalty was attached. The principle of coercion was applied over a remarkably wide and ever widening field.

From the days of McGregor, local control was in the hands of 'village constables, paid servants of the Crown. They were intermediaries between government and people, chosen by European officers.' From 1925 onwards, one or more 'village councillors' were appointed alongside the village constable. These were not paid servants of the Crown but were intended 'to be the representatives of native opinion'. In the Northern District I found they had generally been regarded as constables' assistants or subordinates. No indigenous officials had any judicial powers, as Murray felt such powers would lead to corruption.

In the period of Murray's rule (1907–40), the government's basic objective was to turn the Papuan into a keen and efficient indentured plantation worker. In that role, he was assiduously protected by measures which effectively

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minimised alienation of Papuan land and controlled recruitment, payment of wages and the employer's treatment of labour.

No money was devoted to public education under Murray's rule. Social improvement programmes were largely confined to village inspections, at which law and order, hygiene and road maintenance were imposed by patrol officers under penalty of prison sentences. Hamlets were consolidated into larger villages, as these were easier to patrol. Villages were ordered, for their own good, to plant commercial tree crops.[10] Education was entrusted to the missions; health services were left either to missions or to employers. In 1919, a head tax was imposed upon the Papuans.

By a gentlemen's agreement between the Protestant denominations, a specified portion of the Territory of Papua was given to the exclusive pastoral care of each of them. North-East Papua, from Cape Dulcie to the German border, became Anglican territory. The centre of the mission was at Dogura, Milne Bay District, where the first Bishop of New Guinea, Montagu Stone-Wigg, established his court in 1898. That year, missionaries were sent to set up stations all along the coast of the diocese, at Cape Vogel, Manigela, Gona and as far north as the Mambare River.

The New Guinea Mission soon set about adding to its staff by building one more advanced school at Dogura, to which it sent the most promising students from the village schools, in the hope that these could be trained as priests and deacons. The Mission thus offered responsibility to Papuans very much earlier than any other White institution in the Territory. In 1967, the bishop of the Northern District diocese, as well as a number of priests and virtually all mission teachers were Papuans, often drawn from the Northern District tribes.

Experience with miners, government and mission in the Northern District led rather quickly to the emergence of adjustment cults, notably the Baigona and Taro Cults[11] arising respectively in 1912 and 1914. Though Worsley (1957: Ch. III) classifies them as non-millenarian, he recognises them as having been a political threat to the Australian authorities. Doctrines of unity, co-operation and comradeship between formerly hostile tribes were central to the Taro Cult. Cult leaders dissociated themselves from the Christian missions and claimed a special bond with Jesus Christ. Although the Northern District never developed cargo cults of the classical type, even in later years, there is a constant undercurrent of what one may call millennial thinking, which is of great concern to the government even today.

The Second World War. A new era in Papuan history began when the Japanese invaded New Guinea in January 1942 and, in June 1942, landed at Buna, in the Northern District, with the intention of crossing the Owen Stanley Range and taking Port Moresby. They were checked at the Kokoda Trail by Australian and American forces who by January 1943 drove them from the Paupan mainland. According to Lucy Mair the Japanese were not unpopular until they began to plunder gardens and round up pigs, a course to which they resorted when the Allied navy blocked their supply lines (Mair 1948: 199). The Orokaiva mostly took to the bush where they lived in temporary shelters and grew German taro.

Army administration introduced a new tone in human relations. Australian troops, in their dealings with Papuans, applied egalitarian attitudes prevalent in

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their home country. American troops, by their equal treatment of Negro soldiers, created the impression that racial barriers had no place in their society! The troops' friendliness to the Papuans was tangibly expressed by gifts, not only of tobacco and other small luxuries, but also of discarded tools and equipment still used in villages today. It is in these events that the Orokaiva saw the portent of the coming of a new era.

The Eruption of Mount Lamington. In 1951, a Peléan eruption occurred on Mount Lamington. The *nuée ardente* produced by this eruption completely devastated a surrounding area of 68 sq. miles (Taylor 1958). Almost 4,000 people were killed and there were hardly any survivors of the numerous Sangara tribe. Those who did survive were provided with food, medicines and other comforts by the government and were for some time maintained in evacuation camps. The evacuees were not at once allowed to return to their villages as the authorities feared further explosions in the mountain. Some officials saw in this sequence of events a chance to create Papuan model communities with up-to-date socio-economic institutions. These plans for village reform, whatever their merits, were not realised at that time, partly because the danger of further explosions was soon greatly reduced, in the view of vulcanologists, so that the people were allowed to go back to their old village sites; partly also, because the reforms were not favoured by the Australian administration which assumed power after the defeat of the Labour Government in 1951.

Intensification of Development Policy. Large scale, expertly planned social, economic and political development did not start in Papua until around 1960 (Parker 1966:189). In the economic sphere the first major development success was the building up of a coffee industry based on the production of indigenous growers using their own village land. While by far the largest quantity of this coffee is grown in the Highlands, the yield in the Northern District was enough to assure to any Orokaiva who entered the scheme an income of something like $60–100, in the year 1966–67. During that year all the villages I visited, both on the foothills and in the plains, were producing coffee. It was an activity in which any able-bodied man resident in a village would normally engage to a greater or lesser extent. Several factors aided the development of this industry. Agricultural extension work to train the population of the Northern District in coffee growing began immediately after the eruption. A training school was set up in Popondetta. Papuan agricultural assistants were trained to give basic instruction and to distribute seed. These assistants spread knowledge not only while they were employed by the government, but even more when they went back to their villages and grew their own coffee.

Title improvement work is also beginning to contribute to agricultural development. Until 1956, the government kept entirely aloof from indigenous tenure problems and passed no ordinances enabling it to adjudicate in land disputes. By that time, however, it had become obvious that commercial arboriculture could be developed only to a limited extent unless a land registry was introduced and the traditional Orokaiva principle of maintaining residual rights in land was adandoned. Though the first attempts to change the land tenure system were unsuccessful, in 1967 it looked as though a very satisfactory procedure had been worked out. (See Ch. V.)

Road improvement was another necessary preliminary to significant village

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TABLE II/8

ENROLMENT IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS OF THE ANGLICAN MISSION IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT
(*Source*: Department of Education, Popondetta)

	1966	*1967 (Est.)*
Preparatory Classes	1,775	1,845
Standard 1	1,290	1,307
Standard 2	1,563	1,581
Standard 3	1,278	1,298
Standard 4	1,275	1,310
Standard 5	693	708
Standard 6	488	498
Total	8,362	8,547

Note: Some schools offered classes up to Standard 2, some up to Standard 3, some up to Standard 4, while only a few schools offered classes beyond that level. Children unable to obtain transfers to schools offering classes at a higher level might stay at school for a year or more after finishing the highest available grade. This explains the unusual statistical pattern.

development. By 1967 two important moves had been made: the arterial road between Buna and Kokoda was being rebuilt and linked to the main coffee-producing villages by a system of access roads, built with the assistance of taxes raised in villages.

The educational services have not, so far, been very closely integrated with economic development goals. Many of the schools in the Northern District are conducted by the Mission. While the objectives of many of the Mission schools are still primarily religious, and the teaching staff has only rudimentary training, some of them do prepare students for further education at the secondary level, and provide recruits for skilled occupations. The Sasembata school attended by Sivepe children falls within that category. Chances of passing a qualifying examination for secondary schooling are good and from that point adequate financial assistance is usually available to students. Villages such as Hohorita and Inonda, lacking such opportunities, and having access to only two or three years of elementary schooling, cannot hope to have any but the brightest students advance to secondary education. As the language of instruction is English in all schools, those who do not advance beyond elementary grades do not become acquainted with concepts relevant to development objectives.[12]

Local Government Council. The Higaturu Local Government Council, formed in 1956, serves about 15,000 Orokaiva, comprising the Popondetta, Sohe-Popondetta and Saiho census divisions. In 1966 the main activities of the

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Orokaiva Coffee-Grower Society, a producers' co-operative formed for the purpose.

The Council is made up of twenty-six Orokaiva members who are paid a monthly stipend. However, in practice a government adviser attached to the Council appears to determine policy. Indigenous attitudes to the Council are analysed in detail in Schwimmer 1967. Together with the Coffee Society, it has offered the Orokaiva some political participation and the importance of this new departure is vividly recognised by the people.

The New Age. Since the Second World War, a great many ideas from the outside world have been communicated to the Orokaiva. I have already mentioned economic, and some political ideas; in addition, the Anglican mission began to attract many converts, especially after the Mount Lamington disaster. By 1964, the great majority of Orokaiva were baptised.

The establishment of the House of Assembly in Port Moresby, giving limited powers of political decision to Papuan representatives elected by universal suffrage, has introduced new patterns in village life: meetings with the local member, with other candidates, and with organisers acting for these candidates and presenting political argument. The personnel of the local government council tends to be deeply committed in national politics and to talk about political affairs when visiting villages.

During such discussions, the Orokaiva are beginning to learn that an end to Australian rule is conceivable and that they will have some voice in decisions relating to the independence of their own country. They fully recognise that this makes an immediate difference to the balance of power between themselves and

TABLE II/10

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCE OF THE JEGASE AND SEHO CLANS OF SIVEPE COMPARED – ADULT MALES ONLY

Approximate Period	*Education*		*Occupational Experience*	
	Seho	*Jegase*	*Seho*	*Jegase*
Nil	6	6	4	5
1 year	–	1	1	2
2 years	–	2	1	–
3 years	–	1	–	–
4 years	–	2	–	2
5 years	–	–	–	1
6 years	–	1	–	–
7 years			–	–
8 years			–	–
Over 8 years			–	4
Data vague	2	1	2	–
Total	8	14	8	14

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TABLE II/11

HOHORITA MALE ADULTS IN SKILLED OCCUPATIONS

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Occupation	*Resident*	*Non-Resident*	*Total*
Teacher	9	1	10
'Medical'	3	–	3
Driver	2	2	4
Shopkeeper	4	–	4
Other	2	2	4
Total	20	5	25

648 the Australian rulers, although they also know that so far the difference is not great.

177 Finally, broadcasting services and the messages transmitted by councillors have greatly increased their knowledge of the outside world. Through their transistor radios, they become aware of, and discuss, the affairs of the independent nations of Asia and Africa. They are thus beginning to feel part of the modern world.

5. *Field Locations*

101 I spent one year in the Northern District, travelling through it a good deal. My detailed data come mainly from three villages which I shall now describe briefly.[13]

Inonda. This was the first village I visited; I stayed there for eighteen days, returning later for a few brief periods. The village was previously reported on by
105 Crocombe and Hogbin, Krinks and Waddell. It lies eleven miles from Popondetta, on the road to Oro Bay, has seven dwelling houses and a population of forty-two. At the time of my visit, there was only one politically significant clan represented in the village, namely Andiriha, who had been driven from the foothills of Mount Lamington by the Sangara tribe some fifty years earlier. Inonda, like other Orokaiva villages, was laid out in an elongated rectangle, with the dwellings spaced at equal distances. Neat rows of palms, shrubs and floral borders interspersed with trees subdivided the central area between the houses so as to give each family a semi-private space. The village had an Anglican chapel, made out of a corrugated-iron storage shed, where a lay preacher gave services. There was also a corrugated-iron copra-drying plant, no longer in use. Just behind the village was a slab of concrete laid down by the army during the war, and now being utilised as the floor of a women's club house that was being built at the time.

Unlike the other villages I visited, Inonda is only partly Christianised, four of the households being pagan. Coffee gardens have been established only by the Christian families and the women's club, which is one of a number organised by the government for social development purposes, and is supported exclusively by the same families. Inonda was also unusual, at least in my experience, in having one leading family in control of virtually all forms of community organisation.

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222 4 Orokaiva: *tauga*; botanical: *cycas media*; Orokaiva: *puga*; botanical: *terminalia okaria*. There are two varieties of breadfruit, called *oga* and *eumba*. They are both somewhat unusual but I failed, in spite of sending samples, to obtain indentifications.

241 5 Details of garden production are given in Table II/3. Rainfall at Sivepe and Inonda is shown in Rimoldi 1966:109; Crocombe and Hogbin 1963:100.

342 6 A plan of a contemporary Orokaiva house is shown in Fig. 3. Recent changes in house design, house construction and domestic amenities are summarised in Table II/4.

462 7 See Tables II/5 and II/6. Williams' data are taken from an unpublished manuscript and appeared first in Schwimmer 1969:226. I have discussed the Orokaiva division of labour in more detail in Schwimmer 1969: 145–50 and explained the apparent discrepancies between Williams' table and Waddell's and Krinks' statistics.

439 437 8 Crocombe and Hogbin (1963) provide a list of prices prevailing in this trade. They report that there is still some trade in shell ornaments from the coast and in feathers for head dresses from the mountains. Informants at Eroro, on the coast near Buna, gave me details of their traditional trade with Managalasi of the nearby mountains. A Sivepe man who has hunting rights to land near Ajoro goes there to hunt birds and sell the feathers. His chances of finding any of the more valuable birds near Sivepe are remote. The difference in Sivepe and Inonda patterns (i.e. the foothills and the alluvial plains) appears from the data in Table II/7. It will be seen that Sivepe stock is to a far greater extent inherited, whereas Inonda stock is to a far greater extent acquired through brideprice (value $13), barter (value $21.60) and other exchanges (value $13.70).

439 438 437 9 Dr. Waddell has provided a detailed statistical table of the geographical distribution of subsistence produce (Waddell and Krinks 1968:218). This table provides clear and detailed information on the geographical range of the Sivepe exchange network. A full descriptive account may be found in Schwimmer 1969: 41–69.

648 10 An interesting picture of this period of Orokaiva history is drawn in Beaver, 1916.

795 11 Full information on these cults will be found in Chinnery and Haddon (1917) and Williams (1928). If has escaped previous commentators that Bia, who started the taro cult, was employed for some years by Monckton, and participated in various punitive enterprises with an alacrity most pleasing to his master. He was described in Monckton's books in rather revealing detail (e.g. 1921: 185, 268, 269, 295, 308; 1922: 10, 13, 65, 136, 172, 214, 216). For the present relationship between the Orokaiva and the missions, see Schwimmer 1969; 123–33.

871 872 797 657 648 12 The general subject of Orokaiva economic development since 1951 is very fully covered in numerous bulletins published by the New Guinea Research Unit from 1963 to the present, and also in Schwimmer 1969. A general indication of the investments in socio-economic development is given by a table of public expenditure in the territory of Papua for the years ended 30 June 1961 to 1965 (Commonwealth of Australia: *Annual Report of the Territory of Papua for the period 1 July 1964 to 30 June 1965*, 179). The growing emphasis on educational services is perhaps the most notable aspect. Table II/8 indicates the pattern of school attendance. Table II/9 summarises the activities of the Higaturu Local Government Council; roads, water supplies and clinics are perhaps the projects most relevant to development.

101 13 The three villages have been sketched in figures 4, 5 and 6. Education and occupational experience at Sivepe and Hohorita are analysed in Tables II/10 and II/11.

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desire to raise the prestige and potency of the group, to initiate a new age set. In that case, the village elders might well take the decision to hold a feast before they had determined precisely who would be the guests. Usually, a number of motives were present simultaneously: the feast would strengthen the prestige of the leader who gave it, and of that leader's village; it would build up alliances and allay hostilities, while at the same time some young people would be initiated and any other minor pending ceremonial duties discharged.

In 1967, all three villages I studied were involved in feasting. Inonda's feast was in return for the invitation from Sewa the previous year. Sivepe was inaugurating feasting relations with Togahou, a traditionally hostile village with which Sivepe desired friendly relations. Hohorita had held two feasts in the previous year and had received return invitations. The Sivepe feast of 1967 and the Hohorita feasts of 1966 provide an interesting example of the diverse arguments by which people may be induced to hold them. In the case of Sivepe, two generations had passed since the last war with Togahou. The abductions of that time had led to legitimate affinal relations and some reasonably peaceful marriage arrangements, but relationships had remained rather cool. The sickness of an old Sivepe woman married in Togahou led to a series of massive visits and to a desire on both sides to open feasting relations so as to bury old hostilities.

In Hohorita I was given the explanation that the feast in 1966 was held because 'feasts are what brings food', in other words feasts magically increase the yield of the gardens. Informants considered some of the important benefits of the feast to be that the first-born had been ritually blessed, that rain-making ritual had been performed, etc. But an analysis of the recent history of Hohorita made evident the presence of other motives. The village had been established in 1957, the inhabitants being the survivors of the Sangara tribe, which had lost over 90 per cent of its members during the Mount Lamington eruption. The establishment of the village had been followed by years of economic stringency, but at last by 1966 the economic effects of the disaster had been wholly dissipated, coffee trees had begun to bear, and the prime problem of the Sangara survivors became the establishment of friendly relations with surrounding villages. This was not easy, as the Sangara had been powerful warriors greatly feared by the rest of the Orokaiva. I found plenty of evidence that the Sangara are still far from popular.[3]

Sangara informants told me that they did not know which villages they would invite as guests at the time it was decided to hold the feast. The custom is, so I was told, for a prominent man to announce that he desires to give a feast. This man thereby assumes responsibility for a substantial part of the provisions that will be necessary. He must have wealth, but he must also have ceremonial knowledge and diplomatic expertise. Such a feast leader is called a *pondo kiari embo* – a feast expert.[4] Once this man has made the announcement the men present at the meeting will decide among themselves which village will be invited. It turned out that the first village chosen by Hohorita declined but a second village (Koipa) accepted. Although my Sangara informants did not overtly state to me that the purpose of this first post-eruption feast was to make peace or build up good relations with neighbouring groups, this was quite definitely the effect. We may conclude that feasts are normally decided upon for a combination of religious and political motives.

743 The Public Health Department maintains a large base hospital
366 at Saiho, 5 miles from Sivepe. A vegetable market at Saiho,
originally established to supply the hospital, now serves a wider
[432] range of customers and at present is open every Thursday and
[438] Saturday (E. Waddell: personal communication). A few Sivepe
people in our sample sell vegetables there regularly but seldom
buy anything except lime (for chewing with betel nut). There are
well-stocked trade stores at Saiho and Awala and a Savings Bank
agency at Awala. In 1963 a trade store was established near
Sasombata, by a number of Kongahambo village.

177 We could not complete this introductory sketch of local
• 648 facilities and conditions without noting the traumatic experiences
of the mountain Orokaiva during the life-span of the older men.
Even an abbreviated description of local attitudes towards
introduced economic and social changes such as we attempt later,
would be inadequate unless it alluded to the likely deep impact
of the following events.

First, the early government patrols, which encountered wide-
spread opposition from the Orokaiva, were attacked most
persistently by the 'Wasida' people who include the Sivepe
villagers. Fighting was fierce and many of the old men we talked
to had seen close relatives killed or wounded.

Second, during World War II the paths of advance and retreat
of Australian and Japanese troops crossed this area and the
[121] Orokaiva were 'drawn in as helpers, willingly or unwillingly, on
both sides of the lines'.[1] Some Orokaiva groups also became
involved in intertribal skirmishes at this time - during our stay
an immigrant military exercise occasioned apprehensions among some
Orokaiva about a possible resumption of dormant intertribal
conflict at the time of the exercise.

Scattered for safety in the bush while the wartime campaigns
swept the area, many people in the neighbourhood of Sivepe died
of malnutrition. In addition, there was very thorough recruiting
[101] of local men for subsequent phases of the war elsewhere in the
Territory. In 1948 patrol staff reported that there was cause
for concern in the continued decline in population.[2] At this

[1] Keesing 1951:8. For an account of this episode see McCarthy
1939: Ch. 4, 10 ff., see esp. pp.110, 126n and maps pp.123, 357.

[464] [2] The war was said to have been a contributing factor; moreover,
many villagers were employed as labourers on local European
plantations and returned only at weekends; more important, the
percentage of able-bodied males absent elsewhere as indentured
labour had reached 31 and the officer accordingly recommended in
1948 that the area including Isoge, Isivita and Awala villages be
closed to recruiting.

time the process of readjustment and restoration was still a major question demanding attention. A few years later the third misfortune occurred.

The eruption of Mt Lamington, which caused catastrophic loss of life and dispossessed many people of their land,[1] left deep impressions on the minds of the survivors, particularly an acute sense of guilt which has been widely remarked upon. They felt that God had punished them for not helping the Allies enough during the war, and for not heeding the wishes of the mission and the administration. Some observers ascribed both the marked spirit of co-operation noticeable in evacuation camps and the avowed intentions of many to obey government directions in the future, to these negative feelings (Belshaw 1951:3-6; Keesing 1951:5). By this time 'population trends indicate that with the present percentage of children, there are likely to be considerable increases in the future' (Plant 1951:4). The area was closed for recruiting but this did not solve the problem of the supply of labour for reconstruction because men were drawn back to their casual jobs on local rubber plantations and the mission asked each village to work a day a week rebuilding mission stations (Belshaw 1951:8).

After the war, compensation was paid for property of the villagers which had been damaged or destroyed, and following the eruption a programme of resettlement and rehabilitation was instituted.

For our investigations, Sivepe was chosen from the villages in the Saiho Census Division mainly because it had been one of the sample villages in the Survey of Indigenous Agriculture conducted by government departments of the Territory and of Australia on behalf of the Food and Agriculture Organization's World Survey of Subsistence Agriculture. Information from the survey has provided quantitative material which, though summary, is directly comparable with results of our short survey of subsistence cultivation. The F.A.O. survey's sample was chosen by statistical methods.[2]

The interest which governed our own selection of a sample of manageable size from among Sivepe villagers - and comparable with

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[1] Several thousand of the Orokaiva on the slopes of the volcano were killed by the clouds of hot dust emitted at about 200 m.p.h. and 200°C. Sivepe was just beyond the limits of the area destroyed. The villagers spent about a year's enforced absence in evacuation camps (see p.76), but some neighbouring people who survived were absent from their land for far longer periods.

[2] Walters 1963:4.

clan distribution can be obtained from the following summary of diverse information from the mountain Orokaiva and the Aiga.

The people grouped under the names Isivita 1 and 2 and Sasembata 1 and 2 numbered more than 1,600 in 1948 and occupied 44 villages. By the time of the eruption in 1951 the number of villages had been reduced to 27 (see Plant 1951: Appendix 3) and 40 clans had branches in one or more of them - there were at least 17 clan branches in villages other than these, representing 6 of the 40 clans. Eleven of the Isivita and Sasembata villages consisted only of members of 1 clan, although only 3 of these villages constituted a whole clan.

Williams (1928:124; 1930:101) suggests that a periodic increase in the 'multiplicity of small clans', caused by subdivision, is only 'in part neutralized by the dying out of older clans'. He says that there is a marked consistency in clan organization throughout the Orokaiva area (1925:406)[1] and in 1923 the generalization that 'local and lineal groups seem to be largely coincident' was true of the Jegasi-Sarahu, i.e., the Wasida group of villages (W.10, 31). In this context he adds that this pattern was altered somewhat by the dispersal caused by a special factor: an attack by the first government patrol on Wasida and neighbouring villages. He does not record the relevant clan branches present in local groups other than the 15 Jegasi-Sarahu villages of the tribe, but 5 of the 7 clans listed are seen to be represented in more than one village. However, only 2 of the 15 villages contained 2 clan branches. The average village consisted of 6 houses (normally nuclear families) and a single-boys' house (W.1), perhaps 25 people in all.

Data collected in 1924 among the Aiga show that there were 37 clans among the 50 villages of the tribe, with an average of about 35 members, or perhaps 'a dozen families', in each clan (Williams 1930:7, 101; 1925:418). Williams says that the 'normal', 'typical' or 'original' residential group was the 'clan-village' - clan and village were coextensive (1925:407; 1928:124; 1930:103, 310; and 107, 131) - but notes that in the larger villages there were 'often two clans or more' (1925:407). In fact, 12 of the 24 clans listed in 36 of the Aiga villages had 2 or more branches there (O.19, 20). Yet Williams might then have argued that in such instances fission would soon be completed and 'the normal conditions restored, viz. the clan locally unified and in

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[1] Cf. Reay 1953:110: Williams' information on the Aiga, Binandele and Tain Daware tribes reveals 'a social organization practically identical with that of the Wasida people'; see also Williams 1930:7.

Introduction

121 The New Guinea Research Unit of the School of Pacific Studies of the Australian National University invited the author to evaluate the cognitive ability of groups of subjects who were being studied as part of a larger project. These were the Orokaiva people of the Northern District of Papua. Other related studies in the area had been or were being carried out at Inonda (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963), Gona (Dakeyne 1965), Sivepa and Borugasusu (Rimoldi 1966a, b), Ongoho (Crocombe 1964), the ex-servicemen's settlement scheme (Cheetham 1963) and in expatriate plantations (Howlett 1965).

131 197 The Orokaiva live on the Popondetta plain and in the Mt Lamington foothills, and share mutually understandable languages. They have been described by Crocombe (1963) as follows:

105 [161] [619] [423] [614] The Orokaiva people number roughly 26,000 and are divided into about twelve tribes. The tribes are very loose units and recognise no single leader and before European contact, warfare within the tribe was not uncommon. ...there are no land rights at a tribal level. Each tribe is divided into a number of named clans. A clan is seldom localised, and usually it is divided into a number of sub-clans which are dispersed over various parts of the tribal territory. Each sub-clan holds rights over a specific area or areas of land.

177 795 There has been European contact of some form over a long period. The people are perhaps best known by the work of Williams (1928 and 1930) in which he describes the earlier cult movements and the attempts to master and control new contact situations. Two of these were the cult of the Baigona men and the Taro cult. The former was concerned with healing and sorcery through a type of priest who was in communication with the spirits of the dead and now resident in various reptiles, particularly the snake. The latter was evidenced in sorcery through a priest who was possessed with the spirit of the Taro. Violent dancing or ecstatic movements often accompanied by a trance were not unlike the dance of St Vitus or St John which swept Europe in the fourteenth century (Sargant 1957).

648 177 The initial Japanese occupation of Papua took place in the Northern District as the Japanese marched towards Port Moresby via

648 Kokoda. The invasion brought a much higher degree of cultural
177 contact and upheaval by both the occupation of the Japanese and
the counter-occupation by the Australian forces. Another dramatic
731 upheaval took place in 1951 when Mt Lamington erupted, killing some
4,000 Orokaivas and Europeans. This caused a mass evacuation from
the traditional home villages and the temporary settlement in
collective camps outside the declared contaminated area. The
temporary resettlement caused much friction (Keesing 1951).

797 Mission influence is strong in the Northern District. This is
provided almost exclusively by the Anglican church and is of a
fairly orthodox nature. Mission influence is mixed somewhat with
traditional beliefs and there is an air of mysticism about the
resultant religious system. Education is predominantly through a
871 system of mission schools, partly financed by the Government
975 Department of Education. The schools are staffed by both European
and Orokaiva teachers and use an approved syllabus. The teachers
are dedicated but often not substantially better educated than
their pupils. Many of the Papuan teachers are educated only to
Standard 4.

177 There is currently some covert aggression towards the European
settlers, some of whom reciprocate in a more overt manner. The
563 history of European contact has not always been happy. Frequent
misunderstanding and misinterpretation by both sides has led to
strained social relations in many cases. The initial settlement
of Europeans in the area resulted in bloodshed and ill-feeling.
Early miners and police both had cause to fear the Orokaiva. Later
government attempts to enforce cash cropping met strong resistance
in some areas. The Japanese invasion and its subsequent defeat led
to many confusing and bewildering Orokaiva deaths. Since the last
war there has been some improvement of the race relations - but
they are still basically seen in some type of dominance relation-
[797] ship, e.g., master - labourer, teacher - pupil, etc. The Anglican
church has ordained a few priests and in general has congenial
relations with the Orokaiva, yet this does not necessarily suggest
a closer empathy with or understanding of the people. The Orokaiva
regard some resident Europeans as welcome and fairly warmly received
and others as being unwelcome trespassers. More Europeans appear
to be in the latter category than is generally realized.

Like any enclave in a foreign country the European settlers
attribute stereotyped characteristics of personality and tempera-
ment to particular local groups. This process of one group
classifying another into psychological types provides a working
basis for interaction. The Orokaiva were quickly allotted a
stereotype and this came to be reinforced as the ascribed charac-
teristics were searched for and found. The Orokaiva were classed
as being 'surly', 'resentful', 'sulking', 'good policemen but need

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When the Japanese landed at Gona Mission in July 1942, all the Yega - men, women and children - fled into the bush and made their way to Ambasi, 30 miles to the north-west. There they lived for the next two years, returning to the Gona area in 1944. By 1950 they had settled down again on their seven traditional village sites along the coast between Cape Killerton and the eastern end of Holnicote Bay. One new village was established at Surilai on Cape Killerton.

Clan membership determined the village of residence of each family in the Yega tribe. In some instances, place of residence was determined by membership of a particular sub-clan. Of the eight Yega villages, four were inhabited by male members of more than one clan. The remaining four villages were each occupied by members of only one clan and their wives and children.

After an abortive attempt at communal farming in 1947-52, the large village of Beporo was brought into existence under the direction and guidance of two educated young men who taught that a large village close to the mission church, school and hospital was the 'civilised' form of settlement. Some three quarters of the Yega people, apart from those in wage-work away from home, moved to Beporo village which was expanded to accommodate them. Although a broad pattern of clan residence could still be recognised in Beporo, the clans themselves began to lose their functional identity within the tribe. There was a weakening of traditional kinship patterns of co-operation in everyday activities.

Although their earlier communal farming venture had failed, the Yega were still very much attracted to the idea of making money from cash crops. Accordingly, with the advice of the District Agricultural Officer (D.A.O.), they cleared 15 blocks during 1957-8 and planted them with coffee trees. These blocks ranged from a quarter of an acre to two acres in area; one was planted by a group of six relatives, the remainder by individuals of various clans.

For the most part these coffee blocks were cleared in areas of secondary forest which normally formed part of the land rotation cycle for food crop production. Although they were located at distances of up to four miles from the blockholders' villages, only one man changed his place of residence as a direct result of establishing a coffee block. This man moved to Gatara, two and a half miles inland from his previous home and established a single-family homestead, a settlement quite out of keeping with traditional Yega practice. The coffee scheme failed, partly on account of low prices received for early pickings, and partly because in 1960 a much more ambitious cocoa-planting scheme, the so-called Yega Scheme, was begun. It absorbed most of the energies of the Yega during the following two or three years.

The new village sites also reduced walking time to the gardens.

The war of 1939-1945 affected the Yega in several important ways. Their territory became one of the major battlefields of the Pacific War. Every person migrated from the area with the exception of one old crippled woman who somehow managed to survive for eighteen months in the bush. Almost all able-bodied men served in the army or labour corps and the women and children lived at another Anglican mission about thirty miles to the north. When they returned, they found all buildings, and any belongings that they had left behind, destroyed and most of their coconut palms cut down or damaged by gunfire. There were some compensations. The Australian Government paid thousands of dollars in war-damage compensation for all trees and property but, more important, the stimulus of travel, and meeting and working with Australian and American soldiers, gave the younger men in particular a broader view of life which triggered off changes in their traditional economy. In addition, the transfer of the Administrative headquarters from Buna to Higaturu resulted in the construction of a major road to the port of Cape Killerton and brought the Yega into closer touch with the outside world than ever before. As a result, between 1945 and 1950, about twenty families left their re-built villages and moved east to found the new village of Surilai at Cape Killerton (Fig. 9). Men living at Surilai have since found regular employment on the Government wharf at Cape Killerton.

Major post-war changes in the Yega economy have resulted from their attempts to increase their cash earnings. Before the war many men worked as indentured labourers on plantations or on the wharves at Port Moresby

(P. 13-A1) (TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14-B)

731 For survivors from the settlements actually destroyed by the
121 eruption, the loss of many relatives remains a cataclysmic memory,
feelingly recounted. But the fine points of organisation of the
resettlement camps are very much harder to recover.

In this preface, my main purpose is to explain my research
● 648 procedure. I should also, however, mention one or two general
facts as a background to my report. The British Protectorate of
New Guinea was proclaimed in 1884; the Territory of British New
Guinea was placed under the authority of the Commonwealth of
Australia in 1902. The effective conquest and pacification of the
Northern District in which the Orokaiva live, occurred between
1894 and, say, 1906. It was to some extent speeded up by the
presence of some gold miners who had to be protected and the road
from Buna to Kokoda was built towards the end of that period.
[777] After the first world war, Europeans set up rubber plantations on
a small scale; the Anglican Mission became established, especially
along the coast. The process of pacification was a somewhat
bloodthirsty event. If the Orokaiva are asked to state when they
discovered what they call the "new day," i.e. modern civilisation,
they refer neither to this conquest, nor to the events following
the eruption, but rather to the second world war and its aftermath.

648 The Japanese conquered most of the Northern District in
177 1942 and were driven back, in the beginning of 1943, by the
combined Australian and American forces which crossed the Owen
Stanley range and defeated the Japanese along the Kokoda trail.
Some Orokaiva collaborated with the Japanese and killed or betrayed
Europeans who were left behind in the district. When the allied
forces came, the Orokaiva were able for the first time to establish
really comradely relations with white men who, moreover, were
generous with gifts and left behind much valuable equipment. The
returning Australian government developed a new colonial policy
after the war eliminating the old use of compulsion and corporal
punishment while the Anglican Mission and later the government did
much to improve educational facilities. Access to trade goods on
a major scale began about that time. Training in the handling of
cash crops, notably coffee, also dates back to the immediate post-
war period. The eruption, which occurred in 1951, certainly had
significant social consequences, but it is not easy to keep these
consequences, i.e., the modernisation that can be directly ascribed
to government measures arising out of the eruption, distinct from
the policy of social development that was being followed at this
time throughout the district.

731 With regard to the eruption, we must distinguish three
types of effect: first, a part of the district, notably that
occupied by the Sangara tribe, felt the direct blast and suffered
very heavy casualties, while all survivors were evacuated; secondly,
a part of the district, occupied by several tribes, was endangered

CHAPTER V: Familiarity with New Homeland

In spite of the pax Australiana, Orokaiva still view with some apprehension visits to villages of traditional enemies, if friendship has not been explicitly established between visitors and host village. In 1951, this feeling of apprehension was even stronger than today. I was told that in pre-contact times a man would be extremely rash to visit a village where he was unknown as he might well be killed. Even then, however, it was sufficient protection if a visitor was able to ask by name for a kinsman or friend resident in that village. This person would then take the visitor under his protection and he would come to no harm in the host village.

A story about a football match held in Sangara shortly before the eruption demonstrates the dangers that existed even then. A Sangara team had visited a village in the Gona district and had defeated its hosts at football. On the way back home, a member of the team fell ill and died from blood poisoning. The Sangara people attributed the death to sorcery by the defeated village. When shortly afterwards this village visited Sangara to play the return match, the Sangara came to the football field armed with hidden knives, guns and pineapple clubs, intending to kill their guests. A bloodbath was avoided only by a thunderstorm during which the match was cancelled.

In these circumstances, it is understandable that the Sangara and Isivita people were unhappy about their evacuation to camps in the coastal region after the eruption. It was not, of course, the specific instance just quoted that made them uneasy but a general apprehension of danger. Certainly, deaths and illness occurring in these camps were very liable to be ascribed to sorcery. This is no doubt one reason why the government lost no time in closing the coastal camps down and bringing the inhabitants back inland, placing them in temporary accommodation in Popondetta and April, even before permanent resettlement villages for Sangara could be planned.

The camp at Ilimo did not create the same kind of worry, as Orokaiva has no reason to fear sorcery on the part of the Ilimo people. The Sivepe people feared no harm from Ilimo because two Sivepe families had friendly and kinship relations there, while there was no history of hostility between the two places. Ilimo, furthermore, was near some European plantations where people of Sasembata district at times found employment. While the Sivepe people were in the camp, they were on visiting terms with the village people. It is important to realise that the pivot of the friendly relations between these two villages were a small number of individuals who were linked by formal bonds. Of the two bonds, one was affinal while the other was a friendship bond based on contact between a Sivepe plantation worker and Ilimo village people.

should be formed ... (and that) as a result of their activities the white people would leave Papua and the villagers would be in charge of their own affairs." This type of cooperative movement was stimulated after the war, and included putting crosses in the gardens, offering prayers before gardening activity, building special houses in which cooperators could meet and eat, and collecting money for vague purposes. Even in the face of Mission reluctance and some Orokaiva opposition, Government finally stepped in to try to give it better direction; a Cooperative officer was trying to bring the situation under control when the volcano exploded.[8]

As final pieces in this background mosaic, the effects of World War II may be noted. When the Japanese moved in they formed labor gangs with the small number of captured whites, including Mission workers, later removing them when Allied attack was imminent. As battles ranged through the area, Orokaiva were drawn in as helpers, willingly or otherwise, on both sides of the lines. After the Japanese surrender, American forces built up large military establishments including airfields in the Buna-Oro Bay zone. Great numbers of Orokaiva were gathered together in work camps which were not unlike the present refugee camps as regards living conditions, food, and social structuring. In the wake of the war, War Damage Compensation representing considerable money wealth by Orokaiva standards came into the area. Some of the younger men who were "veterans" were given technical training at Higatura and elsewhere.

These Orokaiva were generally resistant to a war-stimulated movement to consolidate into larger settlements although it has had considerable vogue along the coast and in the Kokoda region. Typically, the new villages have been built in an open area, with houses drawn up like a military encampment on three sides of a square or rectangle. The inner square is used for soccer football, which is tremendously popular, and for other community purposes. Subsequent to the eruption, the Orokaiva who resettled along the jeep-roads outside the danger zone were encouraged by Government officers to build this type of village, and the houses were laid out under the official eye. First, the men left the relief camps to erect buildings, and were followed later by the women and children. These new settlements contain anywhere from 100 to 400 persons, with the kin and hamlet alignments usually kept through contiguous housing. Such units are within sight of one another, and from the air resemble a chain of fairly continuous settlements. Some family and hamlet groups, however, have inconspicuously avoided settling in these new villages although this has been difficult because Government has tried to keep a very tight supervision in case its judgment as to the danger perimeter has been wrong. A government post was established in each of the two main resettlement zones to facilitate this supervision.

Belshaw has observed this resettlement in a somewhat more advanced stage than was seen by the writer. He comments that in general the prime concern of the people was

8. Belshaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-252, gives a fuller account of this cooperative movement and its significance. Publications of the Anglican Mission also contain references, seen by the writer some years ago, but not available at the time of writing this paper.